HUMAN EVENTS

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New GOP? Eleventh-hour conversion of the Eisenhower Administration from Modern Republicanism to conservative Republicanism—has it really come to pass? And if so, has it come too late for the November elections? These are the questions excitedly tossed about in Washington today.

Those who think that the sinner has repented (although they still fear such influences on Ike as his brother Milton) speculate on the effects of one highly secret White House move, and try to estimate how best it may be buttressed by political action in the coming three weeks.

The move: it is known that a week ago the White House called a "billionaire" conference of business and financial leaders and got them to agree to a quick, intensive drive for campaign funds. Informed sources say that the *modus operandi* is the same as that devised by Colonel Louis Johnson, Democratic Finance Chairman, in the fall of 1948, when President Truman desperately sought money to stave off what looked like certain defeat. Johnson's high-pressure drive to pull down heavy business contributions was successful. And it is expected that the new GOP program will soon bring substantial support for such hard-pressed Republican candidates as Knowland.

What else besides money? Well, elder statesmen here applaud the "change of emphasis" in White House and National Committee statements, from "moderate" and "middle-of-the-road" economic policy to militant conservatism. But they wonder if Ike's disappointing record on economy in the past five years has not made conservative voters skeptical of such last minute "campaign oratory." A dramatic pledge of support for economy in Government for the next two years, it is observed, might dissolve this well-fortified skepticism.

Senator Styles Bridges, ranking GOP member of the Appropriations Committee and a leader in the economy bloc in the upper house, tells HUMAN EVENTS: *"The Republican party has always been for fiscal solvency. The record of the last Congress shows that the Republicans gave more support for economy moves than did the Democrats. I feel that when Congress meets after the first of the year we should put through a major cut in spending—it should be a five per cent minimum cut for all items and on most items should achieve a goal of ten per cent or more."*

It is suggested on Capitol Hill that, if Ike should make a dramatic announcement to the press, backing up Bridges and pledging his Administration to cooperating with the economy bloc in Congress, much of the reluctance of conservatives to back the GOP at the polls in November would recede.

● Meanwhile, traditional Republicans perceive a golden chance for the White House and the party to capitalize on Democratic Senator Theodore Green's extraordinary demand for appeasement in the China Sea. What prestige Ike retains in the country, it is believed, lies in his old record as a general; folks regard him as a flop in politics, but in military strategy they still respect him. If he backs Dulles in a strong stand against Red China, he can tap great reserves of pride-in-country at the grass roots; and he can widen the split among the Democrats on foreign policy—Truman against appeasement, Green and Acheson for it (see story below).

Money, political strategy—so far, so good. But there remains one political necessity without which a debacle in November could well take place. That is "organization." Politicos here fear the effectiveness of the grass-roots organization run by the labor bosses, as it worked for victory in Maine and as it is working everywhere else today. (See the HUMAN EVENTS item, "Labor Political Power," October 6, 1958.)

How can any such degree of political counteraction be reached by the Republicans in the next three weeks? It is acknowledged that it is too late for any but emergency action. Such an eleventh-hour effort, it is said by thoughtful observers, cannot be on a unified, centralized and well-controlled pattern. It will have to be "guerrilla action" at the grass roots. But it can be done.

This is the plan now advocated in the Capital: American business every year spends the equivalent of about $100 million in terms of manpower, in community chest and local civic drives. This business-for-charity organization exists and could be utilized for business political action. But heads of firms themselves will have to throw it into gear and work in close coordination with local politicos. Also, the senior and junior executives will have to get down into the dust and heat of the precinct battles—organize motor pools, telephone solicitations (see last week's item, "Vade Mecum for GOP"), doorbell ringing, newspaper, radio and TV publicity, *etc.* A 24-hour-a-day emergency operation—but experts say it can be done.

● *Significant of the "new look" in the White House since the resignation of Sherman Adams was an episode that happened last week. In New Hampshire (regarded as Adams' last stronghold), Wesley Powell, a conservative and a protégé of Senator Styles Bridges, defeated Hugh Gregg, backed by Adams, for the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Powell last week came to Washington*

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and was received by President Eisenhower. Politicos comment: this would never have happened under the Adams regime.

Supreme Court: The appointment of Circuit Court Judge Potter Stewart to become Justice of the Supreme Court received a warm welcome in the Capital from conservatives. In his home state of Ohio, they call Stewart a "dyed-in-the-wool" Taft follower. Law associates describe him as a thoroughgoing conservative in his political and governmental thinking. Both he and his father (now on the Ohio Supreme Court) have been leaders in the traditionalist Taft wing of the party in the Buckeye State. As a sidelight on the young Justice's politics, it is recalled that he served as campaign manager for right-wing Republican Congressman Gordon Scherer in two election bouts. Scherer followed an "independent-of-the-White-House" policy and made a point of not asking Ike to campaign for him.

The retirement of Justice Burton to make way for his fellow Ohioan was not unexpected. It is known that friends for some time have been urging Burton, who disliked the "political activities" of some of his colleagues, to retire. "Harold," one of them told him, "you aren't the type to engage in sparring with Felix and Earl." While health was an important reason for Burton's decision, it was not the only one—so say old friends.

Democrats vs. Appeasement: While the loud-voiced appeasement claque within the Democratic party dominates the columns of the press, a brief survey conducted by HUMAN EVENTS suggests that the "sellout" policies advocated by Senator Theodore Green and former State Secretary Dean Acheson are steering the Democrats towards a new split-up—this time over foreign policy. For a number of Democrats have followed the lead of former President Truman in staking out a firm anti-Communist position on the Far East crisis.

The office of Senator Paul Douglas (Ill.) informs HUMAN EVENTS that, although Douglas may question the wisdom of the original commitment to Quemoy and the Matsus, he definitely opposes backing down under armed pressure and is strongly against appeasement of the Red Chinese.

Another Northern Democrat, Representative Thaddeus Machrowicz of Detroit, told HUMAN EVENTS that he viewed the offshore islands as a military problem, and one that should be left to the military to determine. In view of the strong stand taken by the military against backing down in the Straits, Machrowicz' view—at the least—separates him distinctly from the affirmatively appeasing policies of Acheson & Co.

Yet another Northern Democrat weighing in on the China question was Representative Francis E. Walter (Pa.), staunchly anti-Communist Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In a hard-hitting speech last week, Walter blasted those who are "rushing to abandon the victim of aggression in order to reward the aggressor."

"Many words and phrases," he said, are used to justify the "perverted logic" that seeks to support Red Chinese claims, such as "realism; easing of international tensions; recognition of Chinese Communist interest; insurance of peace; etc. These are but coverups for the true word which represents this kind of thinking—appeasement!"

Additionally, practically the entire Southern wing of the Democratic party opposes the appeasement claque. Some high-up Southerners decline to be quoted directly, but have made it known that they stand for a firm policy concerning the offshore islands. Others speak out openly. Senator Strom Thurmond (S.C.) told HUMAN EVENTS last week that he is against giving up Quemoy and the Matsus, and in general is strongly opposed to appeasing the Communists.

Veteran Congressman James C. Davis (Ga.) similarly told HUMAN EVENTS: "I think the firm stand which Eisenhower took is correct, and I don't think a policy of appeasement is the way to avoid war with the Communists."

Rockefeller and All That: Conservatives in New York are shocked by the story relayed by liberal columnist Marquis Childs, to the effect that John J. McCloy, Chairman of the Chase "Rockefeller" Bank, together with Dean Acheson, put pressure on Secretary of State Dulles to appease the Chinese Reds. This news adds to the impression that Nelson Rockefeller, GOP candidate for the Empire State Governorship, is part of the "sellout" coterie. It also increases the tendency of New York's right-wing Republicans to "sit on their hands" in the coming election, calling the Harriman-Rockefeller race one of "Tweedledum *vs.* Tweedledee." Other Republicans note how Rockefeller's running mate for Senator, Kenneth Keating, backs up a strong stand against the Reds, and a split ticket, for Keating and Harriman, looms.

Additional fuel feeds this fire in New York Republicanism as news comes from Maine that former Governor Thomas E. Dewey, on a recent visit to a bar gathering in Portland, talked up Rockefeller. (Dewey is a lawyer for the Chase National Bank.) One report has it that Dewey sought to "sew up" Maine GOP delegates for Rockefeller for the 1960 Presidential nominating convention. Some Republicans demand that Dewey say whether or not this story is true.

Truman Rides Again: The best boost for Richard Nixon's nomination as Presidential candidate in 1960 came, ironically, from Harry S. Truman, in a statement last week in Cheyenne, Wyoming. The former Democratic President and leader of his party declared Nixon to be his "choice" for the Republican nomination in 1960. Why? Because "we can lick him," said Harry.

The reason why Capital professionals think this is Nixon's best boost is that they remember how Truman pulled the same line back in 1948, utilized the stratagem of saying his "choice" was Taft, because he "could lick him." In 1948, Truman realized that Taft would be the hardest man to beat, but in order to throw dust in the eyes of the "me-too" Republicans he said the opposite in public.

Politicos know this, for it is on record in *Inside the Democratic Party* (Bobbs-Merrill; $4.50), a book by Jack Redding, Truman's publicity man in 1948. The amazing revelations in this volume were first can-

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vassed in HUMAN EVENTS for June 23, 1958. Redding in one chapter tells how he, Gael Sullivan and Bob Hannegan—top strategists for the Democrats—worked out this tricky line at a conference early in 1948.

"It'll be Dewey again," said Hannegan. "But Dewey will have to run on what Taft does in Congress. Actually, if the Republicans were smart they'd run Taft. He'd make a better candidate and would probably be harder for us to beat simply because he would fight harder. Dewey will be 'me-too' all over again. He'll tend to beat himself." Redding goes on to relate how he always gave the deceptive line to newsmen: "Taft's our man for GOP candidate—he's the easiest man to beat."

The Modern Republicans swallowed this remark (often repeated by Truman in 1948), adopted the "Taft can't win" line and thereby laid the groundwork for the defeat of Taft in the convention of 1952. Today Truman endorses the Redding book. Harry is obviously applying the same tactics to Nixon. "He's our choice because we can lick him"—meaning that the Democrats fear Nixon.

Inflation and Taxes: Businessmen know—if others do not—that Federal taxes swell the rising inflation which threatens the whole financial structure of the country. Not the least of these Federal imposts increasing inflationary pressures is the capital-gains tax (see HUMAN EVENTS' article for April 14, 1958, "The Case Against the Capital-Gains Tax," by G. Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange—which sold 80,000 copies).

Even the "liberal" *Washington Post* has come to recognize this fact, in its weekly column by financial writer Harold B. Dorsey. This columnist, remarking that inflationary factors are manifesting themselves "more visibly in the stock market" than anywhere else, points out that "not the least of these inflationary factors now operating directly on the stock market is the Federal Government's responsibility for shortening the market's supply of common stocks via the capital-gains tax." In sum, the soaring market derives much impetus from a short-supply situation.

Dorsey goes on to underline the fact that numerous investors and speculators will not sell their overvalued stocks, "perhaps to buy undervalued bonds," because they would have to make a substantial financial sacrifice (up to 25 per cent) in the form of capital-gains tax payments.

Partly because the capital-gains tax discourages the selling of stocks, remarks Dorsey, "there is less money to buy bonds and, as a result, governments are going to have to pay more in interest expenses for their borrowed money. One percentage point increase in the interest rate on Federal, state and local debt would increase the interest expense of these governments by over $3 billion per annum."

The Treasury's worry over the sorry plight of the bond market and its energetic attempts to grapple with that problem thus can be traced in no small part right back to Secretary Anderson and his failure to push Congress for abolition or downward revision of the capital-gains tax.

Moos—Left-Handed Ghost: In the two weeks since his appointment to the strategic post of speech writer for the President, researchers have been delving into the background of Johns Hopkins Professor Malcolm Moos, to gain some idea of where his political sympathies lie. What they have found on him, they say, suggests that he will make the ousted Modern Republican Arthur Larson (whom he replaces) look like "a disciple of McKinley."

The first point about Moos, acknowledged by "liberal" and conservative alike, is reflected in the much-quoted remark of one high-up Republican (carried in two different New York papers): "He is no better than a Democrat, and a New Deal Democrat at that."

A book by Moos, entitled A Grammar of American Politics, makes it clear that Ike's new ghost writer is a statist. In it, he blasts "Constitution worship," scores GOP President Calvin Coolidge for his "obstinate faith in an outmoded economic [and] social ideology," and praises Democratic President Franklin Roosevelt as "a crusader for the good life."

Goldwater: In Arizona, AFL-CIO's COPE has its guns trained on its arch-foe, GOP Senator Barry Goldwater, and is swinging heavy support to his opponent, Governor Ernest McFarland.

Reflecting on COPE's blatant intervention in Arizona electoral affairs was an incident that occurred in the state primary, related by Arizona election marshal Thomas J. Bennett, in a letter to *The Arizona Republic*.

"As marshal," he wrote, "I observed that many of the people coming to vote were carrying a small card, bearing a list of names and the admonition to the bearer to take same to polls with him on September 9. That admonition is an admonition to violate the law; for it is illegal for any person to bring within the 50 foot limit any propaganda relating to the election.

"Who admonished these people to so violate the law? The answer is written on the card: COPE, which stands for the words, 'Committee on Political Education,' which is the political arm of AFL-CIO.

"I took more than 100 of these cards from [aged and otherwise infirm] people and left them even more helpless than when they came. They were confounded; for without the card they were helpless to fill in a ballot as they had been 'educated' to do by COPE and they were distraught because they were sure their husbands would be without work on the following day."

Inside the State Department: Friends continue to urge Secretary of State Dulles to clean out the Acheson-Truman bureaucrats that still infest his department. "You can't fight appeasement with the wrong kind of aides." Just now, Dulles' attention is called to a recent appointment to his Division of Public Affairs (from which issued the controversial report of letters favoring appeasement, on the basis of slanted organized mail). The appointment mentioned is that of Edward M. J. Kretzmann.

The spotlight on this matter has been focussed by the fortnightly *USA*, in its issue of October 10, 1958 (published by Alice Widener, P.O. Box 134, Lenox Hill Station, New York 21, N.Y.). *USA* gives a disturbing picture of Kretzmann's record, as revealed by his testi-

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mony before a Senate committee in 1953. Kretzmann was questioned by the committee about his actions when he was Voice of America "policy adviser" during the Korean War.

For example, the Voice of America beamed to South Korea material extremely critical of its staunch anti-Communist President, Syngman Rhee, in 1952, when Rhee was running for re-election. Under questioning by Senator McCarthy, Kretzmann admitted he was "responsible for practically everything" going out over the broadcasts, and that he "knew that those broadcasts were going on."

Admitting that he carried no favorable comment whatever *on Rhee, Kretzmann attempted to justify his action by claiming he could find none, "in either the American press or the European press at the time." This, say critics, was a preposterous excuse, since both the Scripps-Howard and the Hearst newspapers, as well as the Chicago* Tribune, *the New York* Daily News *and many other organs supported Rhee.*

Another episode in Kretzmann's career: soon after his confirmation as Secretary of State in 1953, Secretary Dulles issued a statement welcoming "disclosures resulting from congressional inquiries" which would make the State Department more "competent, loyal and secure," and serving notice that he would not defend the mistakes of his predecessors. Kretzmann, in a policy conference with his underlings, characterized the Dulles statement as "rather depressing. I would like not to discuss it."

Education: Rumors are afoot in the Capital that Commissioner of Education Lawrence Derthick may be on his way out. His most likely replacement: present Deputy Commissioner Wayne Reed. Occasion: policy entanglements over launching the new Federal aid program, enacted this year by Congress. The program has proved offensive to many sensible educators in the states, who want none of it. Derthick's appearance at a get-together intended to prime state education officers was a distinct flop, and is seen here as helping to grease the skids for his departure. Many will breathe a sigh of relief that Derthick, a left-winger, is leaving. The joker in the new deal is that Reed is as bad, if not actually worse, than Derthick himself. (For background on Reed see HUMAN EVENTS for May 26, 1958.)

● Confirming prophecies that a little Federal aid would beget only a cry for more of the same, the board of directors of the National Education Association last week voted to fight for passage of the $4.5 billion Murray-Metcalf Federal-aid-to-education bill in the next session of Congress. Among the NEA's arguments for the bill was one which declared that "improvements" now possible under the "National Defense Education Act" made additional Federal help necessary!

Under the Murray-Metcalf bill, which was sidetracked in the last session, the Federal Government would provide a $25 payment for each school-age child the first year. This payment would rise $25 a year to $100 a child in the fourth year. The money would be used for teachers' salaries and school construction.

South of the Border: Anti-Communists find confirmation for many reports circulating in the Capital in a survey of Red subversion in the Latin American countries, which first appeared in the German newspaper, *General Anzeiger*. For example, this German report reaffirms the findings of American intelligence when it names the Russian Embassy in Mexico as the Communist infiltration headquarters in South America, with 7,000 on its payroll.

Moreover, says the report, particular stress is now being placed by the Soviets on Venezuela, because of its rich oil fields, and on Argentina, where Communist shock troops can now count on about 50,000 to 60,000 supporters. All told, it adds, the Red "vanguard in Latin America consists of about 500,000 trustworthy active members of the Communist party" and its fronts.

"The headquarters of this vanguard," the survey adds, "were already set up in Mexico during the war by the Communist trade union leader, Lombardo Toledano, who enjoyed the confidence and support of the then USA President, Roosevelt."

LETTER FROM MRS DURIVE TROYAK

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WALTER'S BOY SOAPY

Labor Socialism in Michigan: Preview of The National Reuther Plan

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

THE COUNTRY WILL WATCH with apprehension as Michigan voters visit the polls this November. The election will settle the fate of Governor G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams, the puppet of labor boss Walter Reuther. If Soapy meets with defeat, the Nation will undoubtedly breathe easier. The rapidly expanding national power of Reuther will have suffered a setback. If he wins, this power will receive new momentum. And, many believe, Williams will have received a boost in his campaign to use his long-suffering state as a springboard to the Presidency.

While citizens of other states feel alarm at the possibility of Soapy's victory, that is a mild description of the sentiment of numerous Michigan voters. I have just completed a study of the political and economic situation in the Wolverine State and have found that lively fears of the continuation of Reuther's hegemony are widespread. For it is becoming increasingly evident in Michigan that the term "Reuther recession" is no mere political epithet. It is dawning on many that the country's top labor boss has clamped what amounts to a permanent recession on their state. When voters face the choice between Williams and Paul D. Bagwell, Soapy's Republican opponent in the race for the Governorship, they will do so with a vivid sense that their own shrinking pocketbooks are at stake.

Few around the country comprehend the extent of Michigan's economic catastrophe, because its full scope has been hidden by the temporary publicity glare on the national recession. Under the flush of a national boom between 1950 and 1956, Michigan was already developing a severe economic anemia. The national recession merely accentuated the Michigan sickness. As they say around Michigan: "When the Nation caught a cold, Michigan got double pneumonia." Moreover, Professor William Haber of the University of Michigan warns that the state is in for a large "normal unemployed force," regardless of the speed of national recovery.

Around the country many people still tend to think of Michigan as in the days when it was a Mecca for industry, and the plentiful, good-paying Michigan jobs were a topic of conversation among workmen all over America. With the election of Soapy Williams in November, 1948, however, all this began to change. By 1950, the state's economy began to lose steam, unnoticed and slow at first, but then worse and still worse. The national economy, meanwhile, between 1950 and 1956, was enjoying a boom beyond anything in history. The year 1955, indeed, was by far the greatest production year in the history of automobile manufacturing. All the Nation was reaching hungrily toward Detroit for new cars.

In the face of this unprecedented demand, the number of factory jobs in Michigan was actually falling between 1950 and 1956; industry was fleeing the state. While the whole Nation was going ahead, only two of all the 48 states were going backwards. Michigan, once the industrial pacesetter of the Nation, was one of the two. This has been the gift to Michigan of the Reuther-Williams political combination.

THE AUTO INDUSTRY has been building plants in nearby Ohio and Indiana—29 plants in Ohio alone since the war. With the advent of Soapy, the once vital, growing chemical industry of Michigan has begun to shrivel and fade away. The biggest chemical company in the state has now transferred more than 50 per cent of its operations to locations outside the state. Small

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plants by the dozen have packed up and left. Soapy has tried to muddy up the view by juggling different kinds of employment statistics, but the fundamental source of jobs is clearly drying up—at a catastrophic rate.

Soapy says it is all because of a national recession, but he does not explain why Ohio and Indiana are doing so well. For the years 1956 and 1957, industrial construction in Ohio was a strong $921,678,000; and in Indiana it was almost as strong: $889,123,000. Michigan, at the same time, had dropped to a comparative trickle: $199,176,000. Michigan, once the industrial bellwether, is now limping along at less than one-quarter the rate of her nearby rivals.

Williams and his ally Reuther have made the plaintive claim that industry is not really leaving the state, and anyway, if it is, it is just trying to avoid "decent wage standards." They do not mention the fact that it is Ohio, among the highest wage states in the Nation, which is getting the cream of fleeing Michigan industry. What, then, is the cause?

Only a few months ago, one of the largest manufacturers of electrical equipment in the United States hung an industrial quarantine sign on the state of Michigan. Addressing the sixth annual conference of the Great Lakes States Industrial Development Council, John T. McCarthy of the General Electric Company stated that his company, in the last five years, had placed 19 plants in Ohio and only one in Michigan.

"And we don't plan to locate any more in Michigan," he said emphatically. Asked "Why?" he replied: "Your Governor Williams." As reported, McCarthy did not qualify his answer. In that simple answer, "Williams," lay the story of the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs to Michigan workmen. In that answer lay the story of the loss of great tax revenues from industries which might have been sharing the tax burden of the state of Michigan, which is presently facing one of the greatest deficits in its history.

At the same meeting, the speaker told of the "labor government" in Michigan and the "bad business climate." What do they mean when they talk about the "bad business climate" of Michigan? One recent incident ought to suffice as illustration. In November, John Reid, an old-time AFL unionist who was one of Williams' original sponsors in 1948, was thrown overboard. Asked why he was deposed as state labor commissioner, Reid said:

"The real truth is that the UAW wanted to use the safety inspectors of the State Labor Department to harass employers. I wouldn't go along." Reid added: "It's being said now in our union that if we want an appointment in state government, we have to ask Walter Reuther."

State agencies, moreover, entrusted with dispensing hundreds of millions of dollars, have been taken over by Walter Reuther. A key reporter in the state capital, widely known for his objectivity, commented on the Michigan Employment Security Commission: "Key executives of the agency who daily handle highly secret documents, involving the biggest and smallest employers under the act, are intensive AFL-CIO dues-paying members."

WHAT THE Reuther-Williams forces have done to the election process and what they have done to the administration of justice in Michigan is still another story—darker, perhaps, because it betrays a basic contempt for our fundamental institutions, a contempt that seems to go far beyond the needs of simple political opportunism.

The story begins with a secret meeting on November 21, 1947, in the basement of a house in northwest Detroit where, according to CIO staffer Fay Calkins—in her book, *The CIO and the Democratic Party* (University of Chicago Press)—the state president of the CIO met with some discontented Democrats. A plan was then formulated to destroy the regular Democratic leadership and take over the state Democratic organization.

The key to power was control of the Wayne County (Detroit) organization. Who controlled Wayne County could swing the state. But the Wayne County organization was no easy target. To win control legitimately would require patience and determination, and an ability to elect thousands of new precinct delegates in all parts of the city.

Violence and chicanery offered a simpler, more

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efficient road to power. The UAW-CIO at first made a show of virtuous indignation at the number of precinct delegates in the regular Democratic organization who were said to be irregularly elected. Then they set up their plan of action. The outcome: an armed raid on the regular congressional district conventions, where "accrediting committees" arrived in advance and, by the use of force, excluded precinct delegates (certified by the county clerk), if they did not meet the requirements of the UAW-CIO stalwarts. As Miss Calkins put it, "a liberal bouncer from the Fifteenth District told the author that he was equipped with six men, 20 clubs, and two pistols but was not called upon to use them."

The raid was a complete success. The war was over.

Victory was accomplished in one evening, on September 19, 1950. A single stroke at the jugular vein of Michigan democracy did the job; it was ruthless, it was expert, and it was successful. Democratic National Committeeman George Fitzgerald walked out, saying he had "just watched socialism take over the Democratic party by Communist processes." Fitzgerald refused, furthermore, to attend the state convention of his party, saying he declined to participate in a convention the delegates to which had been picked with "storm troopers guarding the doors and the chairman presiding with a baseball bat." Mrs. Nellie Riley, a former Democratic National Convention delegate, warned: "Socialists are in complete charge of the Democratic party machinery."

Already, in 1949, the CIO forces had maneuvered themselves into a dominant position in the party. After this coup in Wayne County, no one longer pretended there was any real opposition. It was obvious, too, that Williams, the CIO Governor, was a figurehead. *The New York Times*, reporting the Democratic State convention, had noted: "Scholle [state CIO president], rather than the Governor, was [the] real head of the convention." With the ruthless extinction of any residue of opposition, the Detroit *Times* was able now to call the 1950 State Democratic Convention, "the quietest in years."

The convention was, indeed, quiet; it had all the quietness of a graveyard. The opposition was dead.

With iron-clad control of the Democratic party organization in Michigan, and their own Governor sitting in the executive chair, it was time now for the UAW-CIO politicians to reach out in other directions for new power. Violence has characterized each step of their rise to power, so the administration of justice became a high-priority target.

The attitude of Governor Williams towards convicted strong-arm men soon showed what Michigan citizens could now expect in the way of protection from the law. A classic example is the case of Thomas J. Flynn, UAW-CIO organizer convicted in September, 1948, for malicious destruction of property and sentenced to an 18-month to four-year term in prison. Flynn's case was appealed to the State Supreme Court, which ruled against him in April, 1950. He was arrested finally in July, 1951, and conveyed to Jackson State Prison.

Emil Mazey, Treasurer of the UAW-CIO, accompanied by Nicholas J. Rothe, a CIO attorney (and also the new Democratic chairman installed by the CIO in the Fourteenth Congressional District of Detroit), meanwhile paid a visit to Governor Williams. As the Detroit *News* put it: " . . . the CIO, which supported Williams in two campaigns and expects to support him again, is waiting for the Governor to prove himself a friend with clemency for Flynn."

The Governor proved himself a loyal friend indeed. After Flynn had spent one month and a day in prison, the Governor found that the prisoner was a citizen "of good repute," that he attended church and that his wife had been bedridden in Mercy Hospital in Jackson. Governor Williams thereupon commuted Flynn's sentence.

County prosecutor Killian, who had originally prosecuted Flynn's case, declared: "Governor Williams' action is not only unusual, but it is unprecedented and constitutes executive sabotage of law and order . . . In my opinion, the Governor's action constitutes his approval of any act of violence that a union official may see fit to commit during the course of a labor dispute. What the Governor in effect proclaims is one law for ordinary people and another for union officials and agitators committing illegal acts in connection with industrial controversies."

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It was becoming clear what was going to happen to Michigan's administration of justice, under the Reuther-Williams regime. The danger signals were up. The next step was the use of the state of Michigan as a sanctuary from the law.

The classic instance is the Gunaca case. On July 4, 1954, several UAW-CIO strong-arm men from Detroit stopped at a gasoline station in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, run by two non-strikers from the Kohler plant. The two non-strikers, a young man and his elderly father, were savagely beaten. The older man, who suffered a cardiac condition, was hospitalized. He lived for some time after, but his family says he was never able to work regularly again; he died within a year.

For this crime, a Detroit UAW-CIO hireling by the name of John Gunaca was sought by Wisconsin authorities. Gunaca had been identified as one of the strong-arm men, but he escaped to Michigan and the protection of Governor Williams before Wisconsin police could arrest him.

From that time until this, Governor Williams has refused to extradite Gunaca to Wisconsin, in the face of repeated requests by Wisconsin authorities that the fugitive be returned to stand trial. The Governor "fears that Mr. Gunaca will not have a fair trial in Wisconsin." The Governor shows a special tenderness for the susceptibilities of his union organization friends.

THE FINAL STAGE in the erosion of justice in Michigan has been a direct attack on the judiciary itself. When verdicts are handed down against UAW-CIO lawbreakers, top union officials have shown no bashfulness about attacking in public statements the integrity of the court, whether it be the State Supreme Court or a local judge.

Emil Mazey, UAW-CIO Treasurer, is himself willing to issue forth from his Michigan sanctuary to break a lance against justice. He went all the way to Sheboygan, Wisconsin, to punish a judge who had sent a UAW-CIO strong-arm man to prison for beating almost to death a small middle-aged non-striker. Mazey found out the judge had an investment in a supermarket and proceeded to organize a boycott of the supermarket. The judge had to sell out his interest to protect his partners. The Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy of Sheboygan County made a public protest at this harassment of the judge. Mazey's reply was that these clergymen were controlled by the Kohler Company.

Such is Governor Williams' friend and supporter, Emil Mazey, whose light-hearted attitude toward jails was characterized by his comment some time ago in a congressional hearing: "I have been arrested on numerous occasions . . . I have established my seniority in many jails in this country."

For years now, Walter Reuther's union has been trying to turn the historically nonpartisan Michigan judicial system toward a partisan, special-interest orientation. Funds have been poured into campaigns; men like Gunaca, fugitive from Wisconsin justice, have been peddling campaign literature for judicial candidates.

And now, at last, they have achieved their end, and the Supreme Court of Michigan has been won for them. A judicial revolution is under way in the state. George Edwards, a former UAW-CIO organizer who once served a 30-day sentence for contempt of court after participation in the Yale and Towne strike violence, now sits on the bench of the Supreme Court of Michigan.

This is Governor Williams' Michigan. This is Walter Reuther's Michigan. This is the pattern hammered out for transfer to the national scene.

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